



*Introduction – Connections
between Sweden and Iran since
400 years*



2017

1. *Iran and Sweden in the 10th Century*

The Vikings

Iranians and Swedish people probably met each other when the Swedish Vikings extended their trade in east in the 10th century. The Vikings in Norway were going westward. According to what we know there was in the east a colonisation in Russia around Ladoga and upper Volga. The so called *Nestorskrönikan* (*Nestors Tale*) inform us about *Dneprvägen* (*The Dnepr way*) and in the Russian western part a tribe among the Swedish Vikings, *varjagerna*, demanded the population to pay tax. They elected a Swedish ruler, *Rurik*, to take over an area called *Svitjod*. It has been called *the forming of the Russian empire*.

The Vikings in the east were forerunners for a trade between Scandinavia and the Orient. It was reported by a 10th century Arab emissary sent to the northern borders of the Islamic empire by the Caliph in Bagdad, Ibn Fadlan. In his *Risala* (*a little book*) one of the notable accounts was a detailed description of the Volga Vikings, including an eyewitness account of a ship-burial. By this followed an *annalistic* (*annals, records*) in Sweden, influenced from Persia with the beginning of textbooks.

Before this Scandinavia was a northern landscape far away, mentioned by ancient historians – among them Plinius the Old, Tacitus, Ptolemaios and Prokopius. For the archaeologist the remaining trace is the finding of silver coins with a Cufic script in Scandinavian soil. We know that the Vikings was selling Frankish swords in Bagdad. It was going on when the powerful Iranian *Samanid dynasti* controlled the stream of silver to Bagdad and the Vikings after sailing over the Caspian Sea down to the coastline in southwest for a time occupied *Barda* and moved down to Gorgan and Hamadan.

Among these Vikings was *Ingvar the Far-Travelled*, Old Norse *Yngvar Viðförli*, Swedish: *Ingvar Vittfarne*. Ingvar led an unsuccessful Viking attack against Persia in 1036–1042. His inscriptions claim that he launched expeditions against the barbarians Saracens and further tried to reach India to establish trade links. Ingvar the Far-Travelled launched his expeditions from Sweden, travelling down the Volga River into the land of the Saracens (Serkland). While there, the Vikings apparently took part in the Georgian-Byzantine *Battle of Sasireti* in Georgia (1042). The *Yngvars Saga Viðförli* describes the Viking campaign around the Caspian, adding much legend to the historical facts.

No less than twenty-six Ingvar *runestones* - typically a raised stone with a *runic* inscription, but the term can also be applied to inscriptions on boulders and on bedrock. The tradition began in the 4th century and lasted into the 12th century, but most of the stones date from the late Viking Age. Most of them are located in Scandinavia, but there are also scattered runestones in locations visited by Vikings during the Viking Age.

The stones are often memorials to dead men and were usually brightly coloured when erected, though this is no longer evident as the colour has worn off. Twenty-four of them is found around the *Lake Mälaren* in the region of *Uppland*, referring to Swedish warriors who went out with Ingvar on his expedition to the Saracen lands, an expedition probably aimed to reopen old trade-routes after the Volga. A stone to Ingvar's brother indicates that he went east for gold but died in Saracen land.¹

Some European Travellers in Iran in the 17th century

The connections between Sweden and Iran after the 10th century returned in the 17th century. From a letter in 1587 from John III to Sultan Murad III, we don't know the first emissary but we know about a second not official envoy, Bengt Bengtsson Oxenstierna, 1591-1643, as Traveller-Bengt (Resare-Bengt). He started in 1616 a journey in eastwards visiting Aleppo, Bagdad and then Isfahan, the first Swedish traveller visiting Iran so far we know. For a time he was in service to Shah Abbas I, then leaving for India. Forced to return to Shiraz he returned to Sweden 1620, a time not only for Swedish travellers.

Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605 – 1689) was a French merchant, travelling at his own expense. He made six voyages to Persia and India 1630-1668. In 1675, at the behest of his patron Louis XIV, he published *Les Six Voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*. Another French, Jean Chardin (1643- 1713), a jeweler, published a ten-volume book, *The Travels of Sir John Chardin*, regarded as one of the finest works of the early Western scholarship on Persia and the Near East in general.²

Some other significant ambassadors and others who left written accounts were two English brothers; Anthony and Robert Sherley. Anthony was appointed as Shah Abbas ambassador. Other leaving descriptions of Persia was Pietro della Valle and after him a missionary, Capuchin, Raphael du Mans, he lived in Persia more than 50 years (1644-96), and wrote a memorandum, *Estat de la Perse en 1660* for the French minister Colbert under Louis XIV.³

The knowledge around Iran made the East interesting but it was sometimes described as a despotic world. Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, (1689-1755), a French lawyer and political philosopher, he developed in his *L'esprit des lois*, the separation of powers, still one of the basic foundations for the western society, had before that been attacking the French kingdom in his pamphlet, *The Persian Letters* (1721). The book transmitted a disparaging picture of two Persians visiting Paris. Later he repented it but observed that it had been necessary for spreading and criticizing the French Kingdom. But the damage was done. It is still visible in the media world.⁴

The Safavids, the Swedish Queen Kristina and Fabritius

At the end of the sixteenth century the golden age of the Safavid dynasty had been passed. The background was among others the sea-trades - the Portuguese sailors had created a new sea- route to India. They dominated the trade until The English East India Company was founded 1600, the following year the Dutch equivalent. They broke the Portuguese trading monopoly but the silk had found other ways going west – and so had the payment. The Iranian society at the time had been described as a *caravanserai with to gates passing coins from Turkey to India, and the wealth of Persia is only like the humidity of water which attaches itself to the channels it passes through into its basin....little remains in the country.*⁵

Shah Abbas II was followed by his son, Shah Safi II (1666-94). Alcohol and drugs made him dependent of his ministers. Ruling for 28 years the price of foods went up. The borders were broken by Turks, Russians and the Mughal Empire. The military capacity created by Ismail I and Shah Abbas were undermined. Persian soldiers could only keep the Russian rebellion leader Stenka Razin, outside Iran.

The Swedish government received at the same time a message that the Iranian government had notified the death of the Swedish King Charles XI and the crowning of Charles XII. It was diplomatic exchanges of information introduced by the Swedish Queen Kristina, later Kristina Alexandra, b. 1626, d. 1689 in Rom, queen of Sweden 1632-1654, ruling from 1644. Under Kristina, Sweden fought the Thirty Years War with territorial benefits. She abdicated 1654, converted to the Catholic Church and moved to Rom. Before that she made attempts for opening a trade route to Persia, passing Russia.

In Sweden the aspirations of a crossway in East to Persia were erased by Russia, 1679. By that Bengt Resare, above, was followed of a Swedish spokesmen for the government, Fabritius. In 1682 he visited Persia together with a Germany geographer and biologist, Engelbert Kaempfer. They could persuade some businessmen to visit Sweden – but not more.

Later on Fabritius was once again sent to Iran, 1684. He was well received. The Shah sent a delegation to Sweden but it was stopped by the Russians. The wars between Sweden and Russia was on its way and trade routes passing Russia were out of order. Fabritius was the Swedish link to Iran until 1699 and he could create an agreement for Iranian/Swedish cooperation around keeping Turkey back, but it had no practical effects. Later on in 1715, a similar agreement between Iran and Sweden concerning Turkey was made with the head of the Iranian embassy in Paris, Muhammed Reza Bejk. The wars in Iran and in Sweden prevented further connections until 1857, when a trade agreement was signed by Naser al-Din Shah. An agreement for diplomatic connections followed in 1886.⁶

2. *Iran in the 20th century*

The second half of the 19th century in Iran resulted in a deterioration of the domestic and external political situation. There was a western penetration by Russians and the British at one side and Turks and Germans on the other. They extended their conflicts into Iran and overruled later the Iranian neutrality in the First World War. The British government held Iran outside the Versailles Peace negotiations for avoiding the damage, after the British actions at Iranian soil.

The impact of the late 19th century has transmitted Iran to an arbitrary society. There was no state, social class, law and politics like in Europe. It was a trading nation and only the Bazar reminded of the past where banking and credit facilities had existed before they were implemented in Europe. But it was in the European concept of law that the leaders of the Constitutional Movement, (1906-11), demanded law, *Qanun* and a replacement of *Estebad*, arbitrary and absolutism, an influence of western ideological contacts, educational institutions, new aspirations and occupations and a professional middle class – named as the *Intelligentsia*. They asked not for the divine rights of the King, but of the inalienable right of the man. Among them was Malkum Khan, Sayyed Jamal al-Din, the crown prince Abbas Mirza who learned of the Russian wars about modern military equipment and Mirza Muhammad Taqi Farahani, known as Amir Kabir. They fought against domestic powers, despite British and Russian resistance against all movements with the aim to develop an open society. This has been going on until today.⁷

The Constitutional Revolution

The time from 1905 to 1912 has been divided in three overlapping phases. The first was concentrated around revolution and parliamentary democracy, (1905-08), the second, (1907-11), around constitutional reforms and the third, (1908-11), was occupied of counterrevolution and civil war.⁸

When Naser al-Din Shah was shot dead in 1896, the background has shortly been described above. With a bad harvest and an economic downfall in 1905, occurred a final push for a revolutionary movement. It was a turning point for the Shah, looking at himself as the shadow of the divinity without legal or institutional rules. But now was the time for a sovereignty for the people, placed on a constitutional framework and free from arbitrary decisions. It forced the government to a proclamation concerning a *Constitutional National Assembly*.

But that the revolution was expected to be over - it had just started. It is a reminder of Europe with Berthold Brecht and his poem *Buckow Elegy*. After demonstrations in Eastern Germany in 1953, the state proclaimed it had lost the trust for the people and they had to double its efforts. But, asked Brecht, would it not be easy to dissolve the people and select another? While the Eastern Germany before the fall of the wall was ruled by a strong central dictatorship. The Qajar rulers failed, like Turkey and Egypt to create a strong central administration. With the 20th century this gave effects in Iran - several military defeats, non-profitable peace agreements, open handed concessions for oil and mineral assets and increasing foreign (mostly British)

ownership. The central defence was almost in a dissolution. The British local military oil militia was better equipped than the central defensive forces.⁹

The Dividing of Iran

The unsettled conditions at the time for the constitutional revolution was exploited by the foreign powers. They made an agreement in 1907 without informing the Iranian government, to divided Iran into three zones. Britain was fearful of the rising power of Germany and wanted to resolve a longstanding conflicting area with Russia in Central Asia including Iran. In the zones it was agreed that the two powers could seek concessions only in their own. The agreement, signed the 30th of August 1908, divided Tibet, Afghanistan and Iran. In Iran Russians in the north, British in the southwest and a neutral area in the middle.

Meanwhile George Bernhard Reynold, appointed for oil prospecting, discovered oil in Mashed-e Suleiman 1908. The following year the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was founded. Later on in 1915, Britain and Russia signed the *Constantinople Agreement* extending the boundaries from 1907. Britain could operate free in the neutral zone while Russia could do the same in northern Iran and the Caspian Sea. The agreement collapsed in 1917 with the Russian revolution and Britain went for the whole of Iran. In 1919 they imposed on the fragile constitutional government, a treaty forcing it to accept a colonial domination.¹⁰

For Britain the dividing of Iran was connected to the British Crown Jewel, India. The coastal area at the Persian Gulf and Afghanistan, the key to the Khyber made Iran to link between Britain and India. This increased when Britain made Egypt to a mandate and opened the Suez channel. For the Russians the Iranian high plateau could facilitate the strive to surround Europa, *the sick old man* and clear the way to the Dardanelles if the Ottoman Empire was falling.

The British and Russian ambitions together brought Iran to a balancing point between conflicts, domestic and abroad. This became with the outbreak of the First World War a problem, connected to the British/Russian agreement from 1907. For Iran it was an unfair treatment including injustice and encroachment. The war resulted in the question of Iranian autonomy. The parliament declared Iranian neutrality but Germany and Turkey occupied parts of Iran in northwest. For Britain the undertaking from Turkey to Germany to build a railway between Basra and Bagdad, was a threat. British troops from India was placed in the area – another violation of the Iranian borders. Later on in 1917, Britain established the *Persia Committee for solving the Persian question once and for all*.¹¹

The 1919 Agreement

The twelve years old Ahmad became Shah from 1909 with an older family member, Azd al-Molk, upholding the duties. Molk died in 1910. About the successor followed a deep antagonism. The constitutionals was preferring the liberal Hassan Mostofi al-Mamalek (1871-1932). Britain put forward a safe anglophile, Naser al Molk, educated at the same time as the British minister Lord Grey vid Balliol College. When Amad Shah became of age the temporary cabinet was dissolved. At the time

with the turmoil in Iran, the British foreign secretary Lord Curzon proposed an agreement under the pretext to save the Iranian financial position; the 1919 agreement. The proposition would, if it had been signed, have transmitted Iran to be a British colony. The Prime minister, Hassan Vosouq and three influential members in the cabinet at this time, the triumvirate, accepted the proposal. The parliament refused and the opposition against the agreement was not only a domestic question. It came from Russia, France and the USA, ending in the Khiyabani revolt in Tabriz and the arrival of Russians in the northern Iran.¹²

At this time the Iranian financial situation made it urgent to do something. By that an American financial adviser, Morgan Shuster, was engaged for liberating Iran from the British/Russian colonial manners but they forced him to resign in 1911. Russia dispatched military troops in the north. Despite this Shuster had reorganized the economy enough to use military units against the attacks from the former Shah, forced to resign, Muhammad Ali Shah. He was supported by the Russians in the north and by Salar al Dowleh, a third son to the former shah Mozafar al Din Shah in the south.

The Russian troops in the north were supported by the British foreign secretary, Lord Grey. The Russians closed Mashad with the holy Emam Reza mosque. In Tabriz the priests and other prominent persons were hanged, accused for opinion against Russia. The parliament was obligated to transform its authority to a commission for accepting the Russian military expenses. Lord Grey was informed about the Russian outrage but considered it necessary to support the Russians with the agreement from 1907 and a growing German military power.

The atrocious and cruel actions from the colonial powers lead to the foundation of the *Persian Committee* by the Cambridge professor Edward G Brown and a business man Lynch, manager for the sea trades along the Karun River. They were supported by several members in the House of Common and the question caused a split in the Liberal Party in power after a tremendous victory in the elections in 1906.¹³

Reza Shah – and Sweden

After World War I Britain, when the American oil companies extending their influence, they found it necessary to strengthen their position in Iran. They proposed a treaty, the agreement in 1919, later rejected. By this and an unwilling Shah Britain found that they had to find a new strategic way to keep the influence in Iran. Besides, USA and France had been critical against the British policy in Iran while Russia stationed troops along the Caspian Coast and created a Soviet Republic, supported by a domestic rebel leader, Khiyabani, a reaction against the 1919 agreement. Britain had to do something. The tool was in accordance with the British unification of Basra, Bagdad and Mosul, a state coup. The British foreign minister, Lord Curzon, rejected every movement towards Iranian independence, replaced by a total British control over domestic and foreign policy.

The coup was performed since a well reputed colonel in the Cossack Brigade, Sardar Homayun, had refused. Close to him was the colonel Reza Khan, (1878-1944), commander for the brigade in Qazvin. Accepting the offer to command the coup for

an overtaking of the Iranian government he occupied Tehran. A journalist, Seyyed Zia Tabatabai, was appointed Prime Minister, Reza Khan as military minister, Sardar Sepah. The Prime Minister, Fatollah Akbar, was removed, The Agreement from 1919 was declared invalid; a blow for the British.

When it was followed by appointment of an American financial adviser and a renewal of a Russian treaty from the Tsar era, the cliff between Iran and Britain enlarged. At the same time Reza Shah declared, since British officers had been employed without Reza Shahs knowledge, that the gendarmerie should belong to the his department for defence. ¹⁴

Seyyed Zia, the first Prime Minister after the coup, overruled by Reza Khan and undermined by the governor in the Fars province, Muhammad Mossadeq, was forced to resign after collaboration with Ayatollah Seyyed Hassan Modarres, a strong adversary to Reza Shah and his secularization ambitions. Modarres accused Reza Khan for ambitions to create a republic like Kemal Ataturk in Turkey and Reza Khan had to abandon this after demonstrations – in Turkey the winding up of the Caliphate had created an Islamic reaction against the republic as a form of government. Despite the controversy Reza Khan outflanked Modarres. Seyyed Zia left Iran for that time and Reza Khan became a dominating member in the cabinet.

Advancing to Prime Minister he some years later became the new Iranian shah, founding the Pahlavi dynasty. By that an authoritarian leadership was established, characterized by nationalism, militarism, secularism combined with anticommunism, censorship and public propaganda. At the same time he began a reforming program with, reorganization of the military forces, the central administration and the society. It was a modernization but it was criticized for the fast and hard implementation. At the same time Reza Shah implemented rules for clothes and influences affected by more Iranians visiting abroad. It was a chain of new rules and it became a source for confrontations. ¹⁵

Among the reforms there was a land redistribution but the effects were modest. A sugar- and tea-monopoly was created and a compulsory military service was introduced. The building of the Trans-Siberian railway, connecting east and west between Tehran and Tabriz started up by a Germany-American company but it was replaced by a Scandinavian Consortium, *Kampsax*, later Svenska Entreprenad AB, SENTAB. The consortium finished the railway and the building of several bridges in 1938. ¹⁶

In the oil sector Reza Khan created a special company for the provinces of Semnan, Damghan and Gorgan, *Kavir-e Khorian Company*. Among the co-owners was the Russian oil magnate Akady Khostaria with 65%, but the British APOC used the League of Nations to diminish the profit. Russian proposals for concessions in northern Iran were rejected, creating a problem that came back at the end of World War II. Anyhow, there was no oil found in the Kavir-e Khorian surroundings. ¹⁷

With the reforms there was, among other things, urban changings – the old city structures with a central mosque and the bazar encircled by concentric buildings was replaced of avenues with a European pattern. The rebuilding was followed by a

factory for producing glass panes, employing glass workers from Sweden. When the salary was delayed they began a strike. Reza Shah announced that the Swedish glass workers were not invited to Persia for learning the Iranian workers' strike. The factory was closed. At the same time some Swedish air instructors, adviser for creating an Iranian Air Force, were employed. One of them broke a landing wheel. When he was told to ask for his resignation, all of the Swedish air officers left Iran.¹⁸

Since the dividing of Iran in three zones, there was a rising anxiety in the British areas. For the Iranian government Sweden began to be interesting - Iran refused a British ultimatum to keep English troops in the zones. To keep British military out, Iran made a request to Sweden for assistance. A school for officers opened in Tehran and later in 1912 one opened in the troubled Fars province. Around 1915 there was a military force with 200 officers and 7000 functionaries. At the side of the gendarmerie, a number of police officers were invited for reconstruction of the Police Office in Tehran. A new police force with around 1000 employed was implemented in 1912. The Swedish participation was successful so far, that The Times in 1913 said that the Swedish were effective in the way that they could influence improvements in the gendarmerie. But for the Russians it was a disturbing factor, concerning the Russian Cossack brigade in the northern zone. With the First World War, the Swedish became a nail in the eyes for Russia and England – the Swedes were presumed to be favouring Germany.

By this British and Russian media enforced the dismissal of the Swedish in 1915 and of them 16 signed a contract with the German army. Some of them seemed to have interfered in the planning of a coup against the Cossack Brigade, with the aim to have an Iranian declaration of war against Russia. The head for the Swedish gendarmerie was replaced by another Swedish officer. Some of the Swedish officers later returned in a Turkey/Germany expedition force. They claimed that they were following the people's opinion, but it seemed more probable that the possibilities for advancement in the German army and money behind. After this, the remaining parts of the gendarmerie changed the name to the earlier *amniyat* and was included under the British general Percy Sykes, the leader of the *South Persian Rifles*.

Some Swedish people had lost their life but their time in Iran offered them a prestige and good salary. The Swedish government for the time look at it as a marketing of Swedish factoring. At the same time there are several negative remarks in press and media. The Swedes look at their task to *civilize*, compared with an out of date, primitive and chaotic Iran. Their methods was raw with trials and hangings on place. The number of civilian victims was higher than estimated and defended as necessary. The Swedish and the Iranian culture were described as incompatible, one enlightened and good and the other barbaric.¹⁹

Reza Shah was forced to abdicate in August 1941, deported to Mauritius, later on moving to Johannesburg in South Africa where he died in 1944. At that time a new Pahlavi era was established. A new war around the Iranian oil started, surrounded by a cold war. A summary of Reza Khan in the Iranian history has been made by Homa Katouzian:²⁰

Most of the things which went excessively wrong under his rule – be it a harmful foreign agreement, a highly wasteful investment project, or the forceful imposition of hats on man, and prohibition of wearing scarves by woman – would have been avoided if his power had not been arbitrary. If Reza Shah's rule had remained firm but constitutional – even if not necessarily democratic – as in his early years, he would have gone down in Iranian history as a great leader, as did Atatürk in the history of Turkey.

His fate have to be incorporated in a colonial context and it has been told by someone that the British opinion was that *Persia had always attempted to play one power off against another, thus creating tension between the two great imperial power. Only a cordial understanding would prevent such a state of affairs from becoming worse.* The problem was a damage for Britain and Russia - not Iran - Iran was the creator of the problem. The way to look at the question was expressed in a memorandum, written by Lord Harcourt, minister in the Asquiths cabinet in 1915. There it was suggested that *we will keep some parts of Mesopotamia, may be from the Persian Gulf to Bagdad, mostly land territory (...) If Persia is drawn into the war it's desirable that the part of the neutral zone containing oilfield and the Fars province is put under British control.*

This statement remains of what Thomas Jefferson noticed then the British power in America was broken – *we believe at small that Bonaparte fight for the freedom at the sea and that Britain fight for people's freedom. The aim is the same – to conquer other nation power, wealth and assets.*²¹

Oil and Power

The struggle in Middle East around oil put Iran between Russian and British powers. Iran turned to American oil, became one of the parts in a power play. Iran was, expressed by a British historian, *exposed to violations and sufferings, not endured by any other neutral country.*²²

In the Caucasian area a Russian/Swedish group with the brother, Robert och Ludwig Nobel, created a production flow (1898-1901). In Russia the oil ambitions were trapped down after the revolution. Meantime, American actors increased the press on Britain. The High Court from 1911 abolished Standard Oils monopoly and they had to leave all daughter companies. A number of new combinations followed. *Standard Oil of New Jersey*, (ESSO, later Exxon), *Standard Oil of California*, *Socal*, later *Chevron*, *Standard Oil of New York*, later Mobil and the Texas connected *Gulf* and *Texaco*. These five American companies, Shell and Anglo-Persian Oil Company became the dominating actors; called the *Seven Sisters*.

Standard Oil New Jersey and Mobil from 1928 made a deal with the British APOC, previously preventing the USA from prospecting in Iraq. The agreement was a key to an American entrance in the Middle East. At that time, Standard Oil in 1920 in Baku, acquired the resting assets after the Nobel Brothers – the Russian revolutions was assumed to be temporary.

After the first World War, Germany and Turkey left the field open in the Middle East. France and the USA only had diplomatic channels and Russia was occupied by the revolution. The Persian Gulf was mainly in the hands of the British fleet. The southern province was controlled by *The South Persia Rifles* and in the west by a British controlled Bagdad. The Caspian Sea was like the Gulf, dominated by the British fleet with the commander Norris. In the east, there was the general Malleson.

Above this there were still the effects from the dividing zones in 1907, The Constantinople Treaty 1915 and British pressure to accept the agreement 1919. From this it followed in Iran in a first phase, (1908-59), an increased production of oil, just broken by the financial brake down in 1929-30, but the Iranian profit was reduced all the time. In a second phase, (1960-78), there was conversions in the international oil market.

The Iranian profit increased in a dramatic way in 1973-74, but from 1979 the Iranian oil export was divided into halves, combined with sanctions. But from the beginning there was a pattern behind the place for Iran in the oil world. It was visible in a memorandum from the British navy 1922 – *From the strategical point of view the essential thing is that Great Britain should control the territories on which oil is situated*. It occurred ten years later in 1931, the creating of the IPC (Iraq Petroleum Company), one of the phases in the Sykes-Picot Treaty (1916). There was included Turkish Petroleum, founded in 1912 with shared distributed between APOC, Shell and Deutsche Bank, AIOC/BP, Shell, Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (CFP), Standard Oil, Mobil Oil and the oil magnate Gulbenkian. The British mandate in Iraq became an oil hub. By that, followed *The Red Line* a British oil map, concluding most of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey, Iraq, South Arabia and the Emirates. Iran, Kuwait, Israel and Jordan were outside.

Inside ICP there was an agreement that no one of the members had the right to make deals outside the stipulated geographical area, stipulated by *The Red Line*. At the same time it was obvious that with several participants inside the Red Line and a sharp concurrence between American and European companies, had to be included in some rules. The question became sharp in 1919 when the British participants prohibited Gulf Oil from concessions in Bahrein. American companies from concessions in Bahrein. The tensions took an end in 1929 with the *Achnacarry Treaty*. The three biggest actors promised to maintain the division and principle for the world market prices according to the treaty.²³

There were some fears that the Red Line and the Achnacarry treaty could be affected by the American monopoly laws. Later on there were rules connected to the Export Petroleum Association under the *Webb-Pomerene Act* (monopoly) - a Memorandum for European Markets (1930) and a *Draft Memorandum of Principles* (1934) and a couple of rule constructions. Iran was outside The Red Line but the British controlled the Iranian oil and claimed that APOC was the owner of the concession from 1901. Iran never accepted the British standpoint and for Iran, the terms in the agreement were unreasonable. There had to be renegotiations and the profit should increase with up to 25 %. This was the starting point since the coup in 1921 placed the colonel Reza Khan in a power position.²⁴

The British-American Coupe, AJAX

After the abdication of Reza Shah and the Second World War, it was obvious that future oil had to be found in the huge oil reserves of the Arab world and Iran. Iran had been exporting oil since 1913, Iraq since 1928, Bahrain since 1932, Saudi Arabia since 1938 and Kuwait since 1946.

In the spring of 1953, the Shah planned to leave the country referring to the cliff between him and Mossadeq, but it was postponed until after the demonstrations. The question of leaving returned until July/August. It was an omen before the fall of Mossadeqs fall. The Shah visited his summerhouse in Ramsar and then he moved to Bagdad. Leaving Iran, he executed a decree pointing out the general Fazlollah Zahedi for replacing Mossadeq. Zahedi made an attempt to arrest Mossadeq on the 15th of August with tanks outside his apartment. They were stopped by other military units supporting Mossadeq and were informed of the situation. It was followed on the 19th of August with a full scale military operation surrounding of Mossadeqs apartment. The Shah was called to return and the operation killed around 300 people. In American books this is called a smaller incident, a part in a project, *a mission for Peace*. Nothing is told about the architect, Kerman Roosevelt and CIA. The whole thing is formulated as *a high note of idealism*.²⁵

By this, a mile stone, Iran was beginning a development towards 1979. The Shah and his USA trained security guards, SAVAK, were replaced by another security force. But the oil became something belonging to the Iranians. After the CIA-coup, putting Mossadeq aside, John Foster Dulles talked about the solving of the *Iranian problem*. The *Iranian Oil Participants Ltd*, NIOC, was created. Anglo-Iranian, the original sole concession holder, maintained 40% but the British interests still controlled a majority. It was signed by the Iranian parliament in October 1954 for 40 years, but the deal included various American companies. British oil interests were lost to the USA and the system later collapsed after 1972, when several producing companies were nationalised.²⁶

Until 1979 the United States could relay at Iran as a policeman in the Gulf. After that they became anxious about how to find a new partner. It probably encouraged Iraq to the invasion in Iran in 1980. When it was obvious that Saddam Hussein was not able to continue his planning, the United States, directly or by third countries, delivered weapons, military technology and means to manufacture chemical weapons.

Since Ronald Reagan (1982) removed Iraq from the terrorism list, Iran came on the list from 1984. Later on there was opportunities for Georg Bush Sr., Bill Clinton and Georg W Bush to find solutions from a position of strength. First Georg Bush missed to handle the question about hostage. Secondly Bill Clinton missed to a proper response to Khatami. Thirdly, Georg W Bush like his father, could have negotiated from a position of strength. With the 9/11 attacks at the Word Towers in New York, Iran became a member of the *Axis of Evil*.²⁷

3. The Middle East in the 21st Century

When Iran and the so called 5+1 group 2015 confirmed an agreement on the nuclear question Iran had passed the 19th century, with an imprint made by two revolutions, foreign interference, an abdication dictated from abroad and by British and Americans organised the removal of a democratic selected prime minister in 1953.

In 1979 the Iranian natural resources and oil were retaken by the owner, the western society replaced concessions with sanctions. Around an invasion from Iraq in order to subordinate Iran, supported by a western hemisphere, the silence was monumental, despite a frequent naming of the conflict named as the Iran/Iraq war – not the Iraq/Iran War.

Sanctions have been used by EU, United Nations and the USA. The USA rules goes back to the Iranian and Libya sanctions from 1996, ILSA. According to them all foreign companies investing in the oil companies have to expect punishment by the USA. It was extended to the Iranian oil marketing. The Libya sanctions were cancelled in 1995 and the oil embargo was then widen to all products. By that was a connection to banking, exporting licenses, loan, credits and agents for the USA or USAs' capital accounts or funds. ²⁸

When USA in 2010 sharpened the sanction rules, the Swedish market was affected. There was uncertain condition about the relations with American banking and American company. Producer of trolleys were worried for the exportation to Iran because of new financial rules. But the Swedish export doubled in 2010-2011, firstly with Volvo heavy wagons. Under 2010 the Swedish marker exported for a sum of 4.5 milliards, an increase with 90 % since the forgoing year. Around 100 Swedish companies are stationed in Iran. Volvo, Scania and Ericsson have the leading place. They are not affected by the sanctions but are influenced of the economic transactions. Some companies have been leaving Iran, among them ÅF-owned Colenco, participating in a light water reactor and the business oriented Mahaco. ABB since 2007 closed their business with Iran.

In Sweden the standpoint in the question of sanctions have been careful. The nuclear agreement stipulate their removal. Some nations seems to find it urgent to delay and transgress this settlement. That's the situation in September 2017 when this paper is ended. Is there another world tomorrow, far from the world in some parts of this document? ²⁹



The twentieth century was the most extraordinary era in the history of humanity, combining as it did unparalleled human catastrophes, substantial material improvement and an unprecedented increase in our capacity to transform, and perhaps to destroy, the face of our planet – and even to penetrate outside it. How are we to look back on that 'age of extremes', or forward at the prospects for the new era which has emerged from the old?

Eric Hobsbawm, *Globalisation, Democracy and Terrorism*

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